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FROM NORTH AFRICA TO CAMPANIA: TRADE AND LOCAL IMITATIONS OF AFRICAN COOKING WARE. AN OVERVIEW AND NEW DATA FROM THE NORTH-VESUVIAN TERRITORY

The present contribution analyses the impact of the integration of African products on the western markets and its influence on the Roman economy. This study will focus the attention on the African Cooking Ware found in Campania and the distribution of this pottery class at the regional and sub-regional level. In fact, the analysis of pottery assemblages from several sites in the Bay of Naples and in the Vesuvian territory has highlighted the existence of a good system of exchange where factors such as roads, merchants and itinerant markets have played an important role. The archaeological evidence suggests that the presence of African Cooking Ware in the region and the prestige of this pottery class has subsequently favoured the emergence of local productions imitating African forms. Therefore, many ateliers already active in Campania began to produce also local imitations of ACW. Finally, in order to better understand the organization of these ateliers in the region, the present study provides a detailed map that shows the distribution of both the producer and consumer sites, suggesting also the existence of other ateliers in Vesuvian area and in Hirpinia.

African Cooking Ware – Trade – Location – Distribution – Imitation

1. Introduction

This study is part of a multidisciplinary research project (Apolline Project) that investigates the territory between the North slope of Mt. Vesuvius and inland Campania through new archaeological excavations and the analysis of pottery assemblages.

Following this research field, the present paper analyses the trade networks between the Bay of Naples and inland Campania, through the study of the distribution of African Cooking Ware and its local imitations between the end of the 1st and the 5th century AD. Although there are some important publications about the overseas distribution of the ACW in the Mediterranean (Bonifay 2004; Leitch 2011; Leitch 2013), the systematic studies on the trade and the integration of these products in regional markets are still missing for many geographical areas. This situation, for example, is found in Campania where there is no study focused on clarifying the distribution dynamics of the ACW in the regional context and, therefore, a careful analysis of the impact that this production has had on the regional market is still missing. In addition, the information on this pottery class is still incomplete and is missing the use of a shared quantification system that would allow us to compare the published data.

The present contribution combines a careful examination of the published material with the new unpublished ceramic assemblages from the North Vesuvian area and other internal sites. The analysis of ACW from the examined sites offers the opportunity to clarify the aspects related to the distribution of this pottery class and at the same time identifies the new local *ateliers*.

Methodologically, the present study tries to discuss and expand the following research questions concerning the ancient economy: location, distribution, integration, imitation

and consumption. The final synthesis will focus especially on aspects related to the close inter-relationship existing between African imports (ACW) and its local imitations. In relation to the latter, this study will propose a mapping of the regional *ateliers* and consumer sites located mainly between the Bay of Naples and the inland Campania.

In addition, new data will be provided for the Vesuvian territory (ACW from the Roman *villa* of Pollena Trocchia) and including some preliminary notes on the still ongoing studies on the ceramics from *Hirpinia* (*Aeclanum* and *Taurasi*).

2. The African Cooking Ware in Campania. An overview

The massive spread of the ACW in the Mediterranean basin was strongly linked to the well-defined system of maritime trade which connected the Tunisian coast with harbours and coasts of all the regions in the Roman Empire (Stone 2014: 576-579). In fact, the coastal sites directly connected with the port structures were favoured by this system of overseas exchange and therefore they played a significant role in the distribution of imported African products (Leitch 2013; Bonifay 2018). This system highlights the crucial importance of the factor concerning the location of a site that characterised its level of supply (Leitch 2011: 173-174). The relevance of the '*location factor*' in Campania is well supported by the recently published data from the Port (Carsana, Del Vecchio 2010; Carsana, Guiducci 2010) and from other urban sites of *Neapolis* showing a good supply of African products.

The data from the Port show an increase in the presence of African productions (present on the site with the entire set of shapes in the 3rd century AD). While the ACW represents only 5% of all cooking wares in the 2nd century AD, it reaches 45% in the 3rd century (Carsana, Guiducci 2010: 1021-1022).

In this phase, it is also possible to quantify the ceramic assembly inherent to the ACW with a good number of specimens (about 80 MNI).

In the phase between the end of the 3rd and the 4th centuries, the percentage of African imports increases up to 75% with a large number of specimens (277 MNI; Carsana, Del Vecchio 2010: 461-462).

Other data for the urban sites of *Neapolis* are offered by the publication of the ceramic assemblages from the Theater (Baldassarre et al. 2010), the complex of *Carminiello ai Mannesi* (Arthur 1994), the complex of the *Girolomini* (Martucci, Toniolo 2011: 73-78). Among these, the data for the Theater show a high attestation of ACW, in fact it reaches 17% of all cooking wares documented on the site (178 total MNI for phases I-2a-b; Ciarocchi et al. 2010: 124-130, fig. 66). For other sites in Naples, the lack of information concerning the quantification of ACW leads only to a confirmation of its presence or absence in the ceramic assemblage.

The high amount of ACW attested on the urban sites of Naples is in contrast with the scarce presence of this African production in Vesuvian territory and inland Campania. The data published concerning the ACW found in the Vesuvian territory are still few and affect only the Roman Villa of Augustus in Somma Vesuviana, where some African mortars are attested (Mukai et al. 2010: 228, fig. 6) and the Roman Villa of Pollena Trocchia where this pottery class is attested in good percentage (a complete analysis is offered in the present paper).

The analysis of edited data from the *Ager Nolanus*, show a low presence of ACW. In this territory the ACW is attested with only few fragments in the Roman Villa of Via Saccaccio (Lubrano, Boemio and Sannino 2012: 219-243) and at Lauro in the Villa of San Giovanni in Palco where it is attested in low numbers (Johannowsky, La Forgia 1983: 27-32).

This overview on the published data concerning the ACW in the territory between the Bay of Naples and inland Campania can be completed with some preliminary notes on the still ongoing studies on the ceramic assemblages from *Hirpinia* (*Aeclanum* and Taurasi). The recent excavations of the Roman city of *Aeclanum*, organised by the Apolline Project in collaboration with the University of Edinburgh, and the study of two pottery assemblages from the sites of Grottaminarda and Taurasi are providing a significant amount of data for this territory.

The examined contexts of the Roman city of *Aeclanum* have shown almost total absence of ACW. This fact is also supported by the study of the pottery assemblage from the *macellum* (trench 09) where the ACW is totally absent (Castaldo, De Simone and Russell forthcoming). In addition, the partial data from the other contexts of the city show that this pottery class is attested with only a few fragments on site (5 MNI). On the contrary, there is a predominance of local cooking ware among which it is possible to recognise a good number of imitations of African products (among them imitations of ACW types Hayes 197 and Hayes 23). Furthermore, the same trend is shown in the ongoing study on the pottery assemblages from Grottaminarda (excavation of Variante 90 of Grottaminarda) and Taurasi (excavations of Località Caselle).

The data concerning the ACW from the examined sites provide significant new information regarding the rela-

tionship between the presence and absence of this pottery class offering the opportunity to clarify some aspects of the regional distribution system.

The first factor that influenced this system was the '*location*' of a site. This can explain the general abundance of ACW in the Port and in the urban sites. Subsequently, it is crucial to understand how these products were distributed inland.

The '*distribution*' of this pottery class was strongly linked to the role of the ports and cities where the products arrived. These products were in fact sold within the city and through roads, paths, merchants, itinerant markets and *nundinae* were distributed at regional level according to the demand/consumption. This 'multifactorial' interpretation tries to clarify and simplify a much more complex economic system through the analysis of the single factors: location, distribution and consumption.

In addition, the study of the African production highlights the importance of other two factors useful to better understand the regional economy: integration and imitation.

The ACW products (but also ARS, amphorae and clay lamps) were traded in West Mediterranean from the 1st century and the integration of this new set of cooking vessels in the regional markets influenced strongly the regional and the local productions of cooking ware. The likely prestige of the ACW then had as an effect the emergence of many productions that imitated the African forms in local clay. In the second half of the 2nd century AD, some *ateliers* which were probably already active in Campania in the 1st century AD, began to produce imitation of African forms integrating the repertoire of forms already in use with new types (a similar situation occurred in North Etruria; Menchelli et al. 2012). The integration of the local forms with the imitations of the imported types had a significant impact on the regional ceramic productions. This led to the spread of a more varied repertoire of forms, some of which were still produced by some *ateliers* in Late Antiquity (as suggested by the presence of local imitations of casseroles Hayes 23 and Hayes 197 in contexts of the 5th and 6th century AD at *Aeclanum* and Taurasi).

3. The pottery assemblage from the Roman villa of Masseria De Carolis at Pollena Trocchia

An important contribution to the reconstruction and study of the Late Antique economy in Campania is offered by the new excavations and the research of the Apolline Project (Martucci et al. 2012: 87-117; Martucci, De Simone, Castaldo 2018). Since 2004, this multidisciplinary research project is analysing the archaeological evidence from several sites included in the territory between the Bay of Naples and the Campanian Apennines. The present study is part of this research and through the analysis of new pottery assemblages provides useful data in order to better understand economic dynamics and the trade flows in this region. A significant contribution in this research is provided by the study of the pottery assemblage from the Roman villa of Masseria De Carolis at Pollena Trocchia (MDC). In fact, at the current state of research, the ceramic assemblage from the Roman villa represents one of the largest datasets of Late Antique pottery

in Campania which can be quantified in 66074 fragments and 11721 MNI (the finds studied cover the 70% of the total).

Located on the North slope of Mt. Vesuvius, the Roman villa of Masseria De Carolis at Pollena Trocchia was discovered in 1988 during the construction of modern housing estates in the area. The first systematic excavation took place in 2006 as a part of the Apolline Project.

The uncovered archaeological remains consist of the residential part of the villa (partially investigated) with adjacent bath complex and service rooms. The Roman villa itself was built above the volcanic deposits of the 79 AD eruption of the Mount Vesuvius and was buried under the pyroclastic flows and ashes of the AD 472 and 505/512 eruptions (Mastrolorenzo et al. 2002; De Simone, Perrotta, Scarpati 2011). This event provides an important *terminus ante quem* for all the finds recovered in the villa.

As discussed above, the pottery assemblage from the villa consists of a large number of sherds. The local and regional productions represent 79% of attested specimens (9219 MNI, while imported pottery is attested with the 21% of specimens (Total 2436 MNI; ARS 1310 MNI; ACW 698 MNI; Amphorae 243 MNI; clay lamps 102 MNI; Pantellerian ware 73 MNI).

3.1. African Cooking Ware from the villa

Among the imported products used for the preparation of food, the ACW (2076 fragments; 698 MNI) represents the most attested pottery class on the site. The assemblage from the villa denotes a good typological variety and provides numerous specimens for all types (fig. 1). However, the chronology of the archaeological contexts where the ACW was found (5th century AD) does not offer the opportunity to discuss the dating of single specimen.

The assemblage includes ACW types of the '*culinaire A*' produced in North Tunisia, probably in the region of Carthage (Bonifay 2004: 67). This group consists of the casseroles Hayes 23A and Hayes 23B types (fig. 2, 1-5). The shallow casseroles Hayes 23A type (fig. 2, 1-2) are attested from the Flavian period, however it becomes common from the 2nd century AD (Bonifay 2004: 211). The variant Hayes 23B instead (fig. 2, 3-5) can be dated from the first half of the 2nd century AD and the beginning of the 5th century AD (Bonifay 2004: 211).

In the site, there is also a good number of specimens of the cooking dish type Hayes 181. The examined samples show a certain morphological variety and different surface treatments which assign them to different workshops. Among these, noteworthy are the two complete profiles probably in '*culinaire A*' variant B (fig. 2, 6-7) with smaller diameter (Bonifay 2004: 211-213, fig. 112, type 3, variant B; Hayes 1972: 49-50, fig. 8, type Hayes 26/181).

The ACW type of the '*culinaire B*' are also attested. This group includes cooking dishes type Hayes 181 for which there are different variants and lids types Hayes 182 and Hayes 185.

The complete profile of a dish type Hayes 181 is well preserved and presents polished inner surface (fig. 2, 8). The

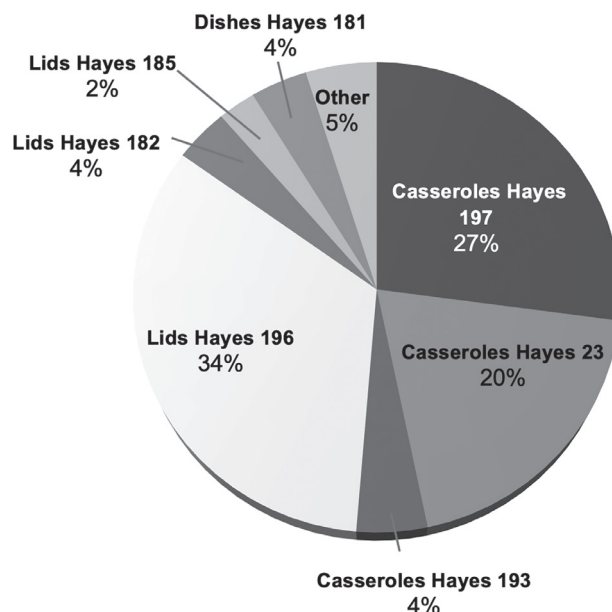


Fig. 1. The pie chart shows the ACW types found in the Roman villa of Masseria De Carolis at Pollena Trocchia.

specimens of the lids Hayes 185 type unfortunately show a high state of fragmentation (and for this reason they are not presented). On the other hand, a good number of lids type Hayes 182 has been well preserved (Bonifay 2004: 216-217, fig. 115, type 6). Furthermore, the specimens found on the site denote a fair good variety of sizes and variants (fig. 2, 9-13). Ateliers producing this group were located on North Tunisia, on the coastal sites and in several workshops in Byzacena (Bonifay 2004: 66, fig.33).

Among the casseroles, some specimens of the casserole type Hayes 193 are attested (Atlante I: 222, tab. CVIII, n. 11, type Hayes 193/Ostia I, fig. 273; Hayes 1972: 206-207, fig. 36). This group includes a well preserved complete profile and a rim (fig. 3, 14-15). This type was produced in the atelier of the '*culinaire A*' (Bonifay 2004: 66) and is generally dated to the 3rd century AD (Bonifay 2004: 211, type2).

The most attested types on the site are the casseroles Hayes 197 and the lids Hayes 196 (also called '*patina centrognola*' types). These types were produced mainly in North Tunisia but also in ateliers of South-West of Byzacena and in Tripolitania (Bonifay 2004: 66-69, '*culinaire C*'). A huge quantity of specimens of this production were found in the villa. The most attested type is the lid type Hayes 196 in pink-orange clay with blackened rim (Hayes 1972: 206-208, fig. 36; Bonifay 2004: 225-226, fig. 121, type 11). The specimens from the site show a great size variety and even some uncommon variants (fig. 3, 16-21). Of great interest is a complete profile of small variant of a lid of this type (fig. 3, 16). The lid type Hayes 196 is widespread throughout the Mediterranean basin and its chronology varies with different productions, especially from the 2nd to the beginning of 5th century AD with the late variants (Atlante I: 212, tab. CIV; Bonifay 2004: 225-227, fig. 121).

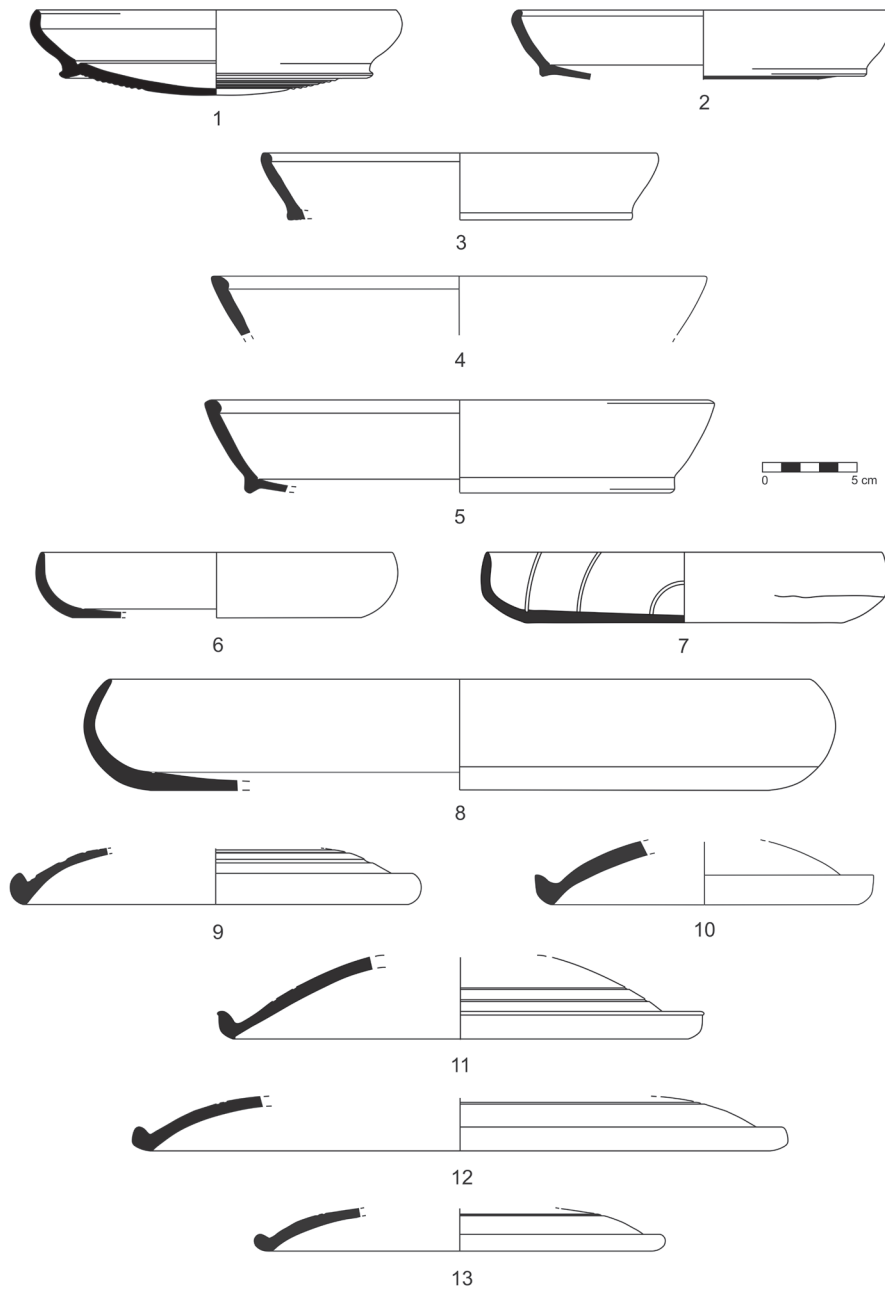


Fig. 2. ACW from the Roman Villa of Pollena Trocchia. 1-2 Hayes 23A; 3-5 Hayes 23B; 6-8 Hayes 181; 9-13 Hayes 182.

Finally, the ACW assemblage from the villa provides a considerable amount of casseroles type Hayes 197 (fig. 3, 22-29). This group denotes a great variety in size and diameter. It presents a well-defined fabric and blackened external surface. This type is very common in the Mediterranean basin and can be dated from the end of the 2nd to the first half of the 5th century AD (Bonifay 2004: 224-225, fig. 120, type 10).

The high presence of ACW on the site can be related to the location of the villa that stands just 10 kilometres away from the city of Naples. At the same time, the huge amount of ACW (the largest assemblage of this pottery class in Campania) found on the site suggests the existence of a well-connected distribution system, at least between the Bay of Naples and the Vesuvian territory. Furthermore, the data

for Pollena Trocchia highlights that this distribution system linked not only the cities but also the rural sites, villas and scattered settlements through roads, paths and merchants.

3.2. Local imitations of African Cooking Ware in Campania and the Pollena Trocchia's assemblage

The great diffusion of African ceramic productions in the Mediterranean (ARS, ACW, amphorae and lamps) from the end of the 1st century AD and throughout the Late Antiquity, with new products of high technological quality and with well-defined and standardised types (Leitch 2010: 12-15) created a significant moment of 'integration' between these products and the local productions on the regional markets.

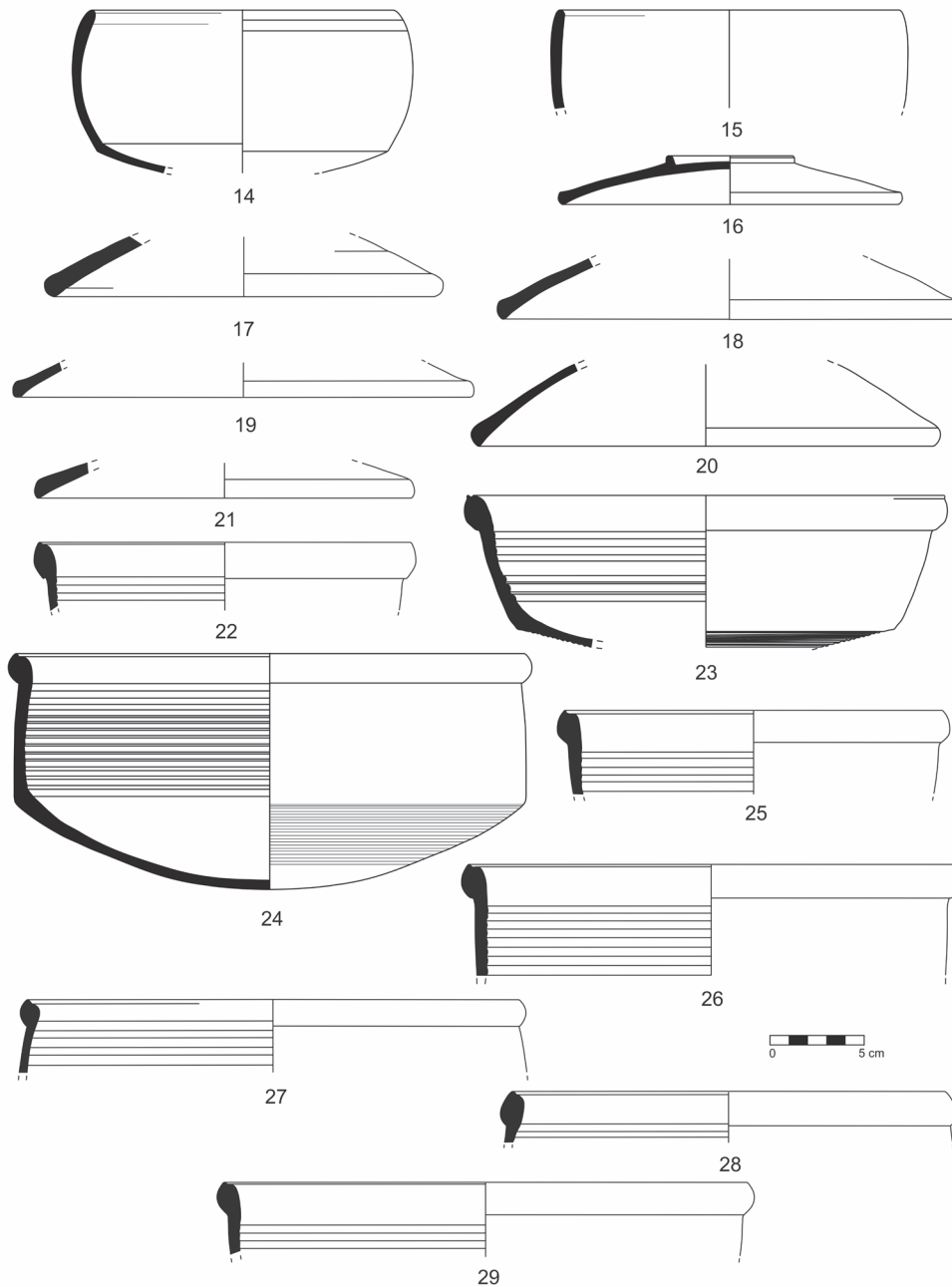


Fig. 3. ACW from the Roman Villa of Pollena Trocchia. 14-15 Hayes 193; 16-21 Hayes 196; 22-29 Hayes 197.

The prestige of this pottery class subsequently favoured the emergence of many workshops across the Roman Empire that produced local 'imitations' of ACW. The existence of these *ateliers*, sometimes even small shops, was a widespread phenomenon in many regions of the Empire (Bonifay 2014). This appearance may have occurred as early as the end of the 2nd century AD as shown by the archaeological finds. In fact, excavation activities and archaeological research have led to the identification of different production units present in Morocco, in Iberian Peninsula, in south of France, in Great Britain and in Italy (Bonifay 2014: 75-79, fig. 1).

In Italy, the *ateliers* that produced imitations of ACW had been active since the 2nd century AD in Tuscany (Menchelli et al. 2012; Pasquinucci et al. 1998: 1409), Lazio (Ikaheimo

2005) and Campania (Arthur 1987: 60). In the latter, the phenomenon of imitating the ACW was widely diffused. In fact, at the end of the 2nd century AD there were several active *ateliers* in the region and their number grew in the following centuries, at least until the beginning of the 6th century (Arthur, Soricelli 2015: 141-157).

The published data suggest that some of these *ateliers* were located in northern Campania (*Ager Falernus*) and active already in the 2nd century AD (fig. 4). These produced imitations of both ARS and ACW (Arthur and Soricelli 2015). Among these, noteworthy are the findings of pottery waste of local imitations of the casseroles type Hayes 23 found in the Roman villa of Gran Celsa at Carinola (Arthur and Soricelli 2015: 145-146). Furthermore, other *ateliers* producing

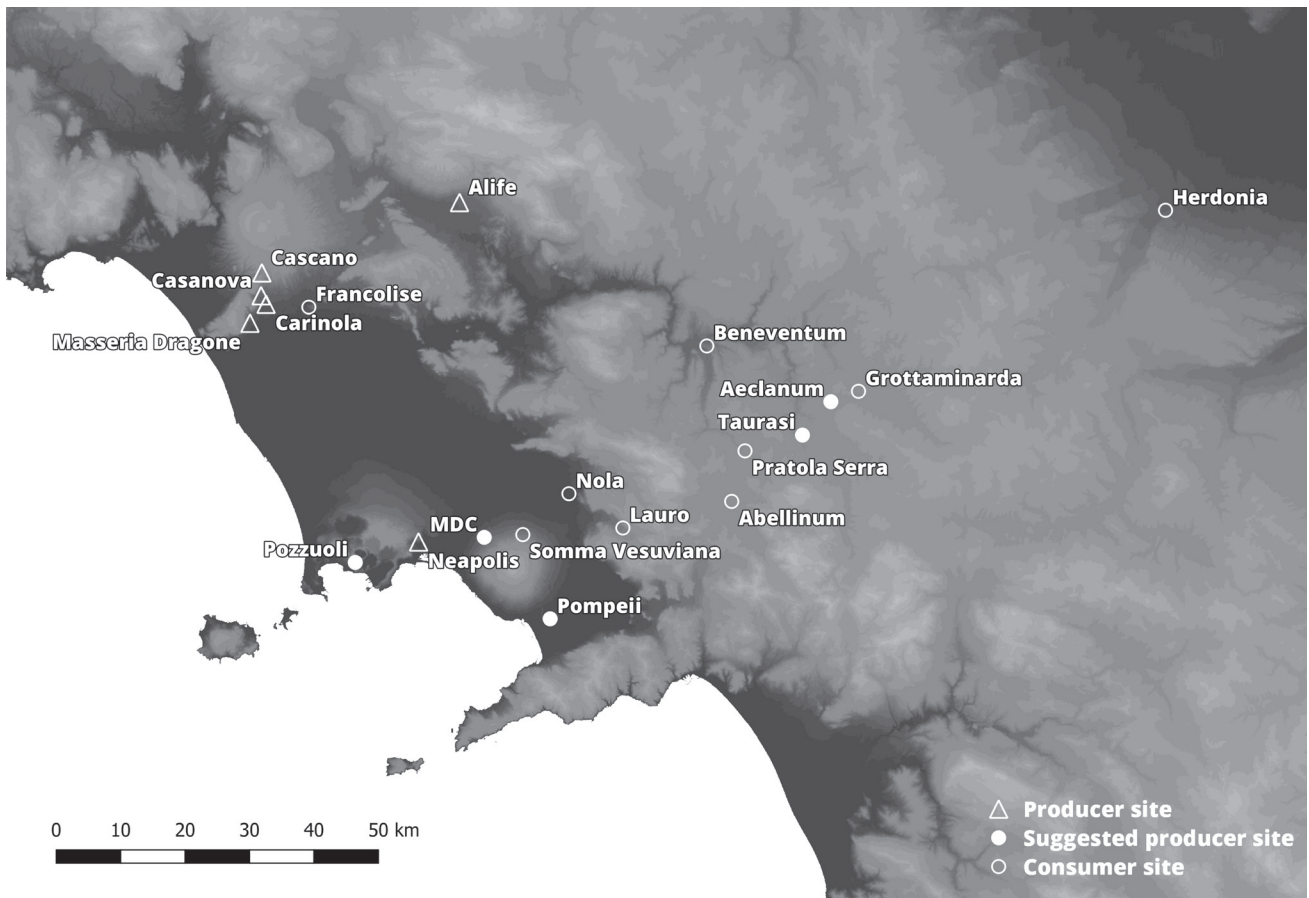


Fig. 4. Map of the productions and distribution of local imitations of ACW between the Bay of Naples and inland Campania. Producer and consumer sites.

imitations of the casserole type Hayes 197 are attested in Alife (Arthur 1987: 60; Arenella 2009: 28-30) and at Masseria Dragone. Productions of the imitations of the shallow casserole type Hayes 23 in local clay were further attested at Cascano and Masseria Starza. In the latter, the imitations of lid Hayes 196 and the casserole Hayes 197 type were also found.

Indicators of the existence of other local productions of ACW in Campania are attested also in the Vesuvian territory in Via Lepanto in Pompeii (De Carolis and Soricelli 2005; De Carolis et al. 2009).

Beside the production sites, the general presence of local imitations of ACW in many Campanian sites highlights the existence of a high demand/consumption of these products in Campania.

In *Neapolis*, the imitations of ACW are attested on the following urban sites: Carminiello ai Mannesi (Carsana 1994: 221-222), the Port, the Theater (Baldassare et al. 2010), the complex of the Girolomini and S. Patrizia (Martucci, Toniolo 2011). Imitations of ACW were found also on the North slope of Mt. Vesuvius in the Villa of Augustus in Somma Vesuviana (Aoyagi, Mukai and Sugiyama 2007) and in *Ager Nolanus* in the Villa of Via Saccaccio in Nola (Lubrano, Boemio and Sannino 2012) and in the Villa of San Giovanni in Palco at Lauro (Johannowsky and La Forgia 1983). In this analysis the new data from the Roman villa of Masseria De Carolis (MDC) in Pollena Trocchia can be added.

The study of the pottery assemblage of Pollena Trocchia is particularly interesting. In the site, imitations of the ACW are attested with a great number of individuals (386 MNI). The samples examined show an overall good quality and a certain morphological variety and some specimens are very similar to the original African products. The optical analysis of the fabrics shows the high presence of volcanic inclusions compatible with the local geology. This data allows to suggest the existence of local production. Typologically the assemblage denotes a good variety of ACW imitations, this group includes: imitations of casseroles type Hayes 23 and Hayes 197, imitations of lids type Hayes 196, imitations of cooking dishes type Hayes 181 and although in smaller percentage, imitations of casseroles type Hayes 193 and lids type Hayes 182 (**fig. 5**).

Among the shallow casseroles made in local clay there is a good number of specimens imitating the Hayes 23 casserole type (32 MNI; **fig. 5**, 30-31). Among these, noteworthy is a casserole with slipped internal surface (**fig. 5**, 30).

On the site, also imitations of the cooking dish type Hayes 181 are attested (17 MNI). Although several variants have been attributed to this type (**fig. 5**, 32-33), it should be noted that the specimens concerning the imitations of Hayes 181 type meet a great difficulty in identification because some specimens could be late imitations of Campanian red painted pans (*tegami a vernice rossa interna*).

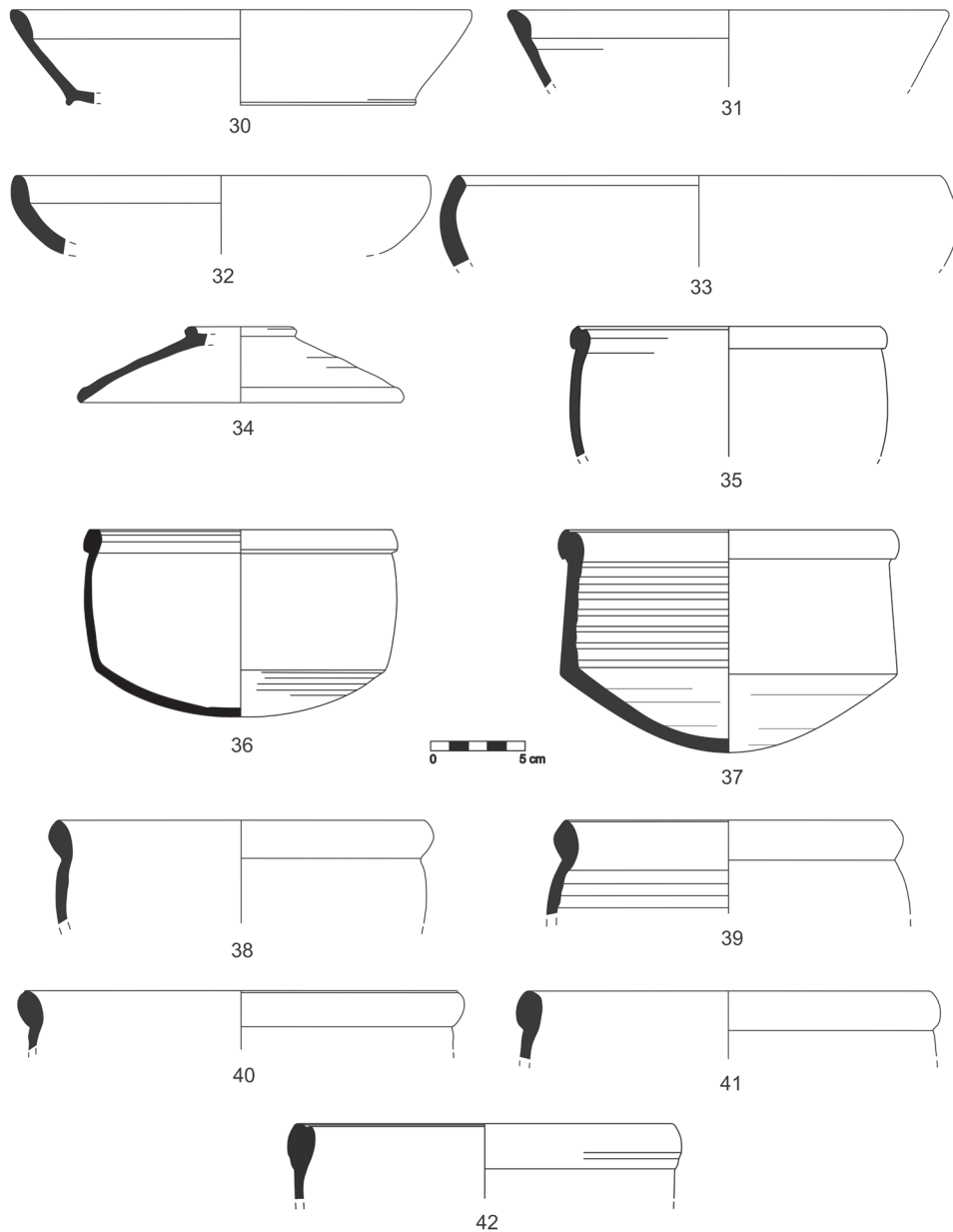


Fig. 5. Local imitation of ACW from the Roman Villa of Pollena Trocchia.

Imitations of lids were also found and they were mainly concerning the type Hayes 182 (9 MNI) and Hayes 196 (34 MNI). Of particular interest is the imitation of a lid type Hayes 196, which seems to be particularly similar to the African original (**fig. 5, 34**).

The most imitated African type on the site is the casserole type Hayes 197 (284 MNI). The imitations of type Hayes 197 show a great number of variants (**fig. 5, 35-42**). The fabric of these samples denote a well-defined structure rich in volcanic inclusions. The external surface of these samples present dark red-brown color, sometimes tending towards brown. It is noteworthy that the external surface of some of the specimens is burnished. The specimens which are most similar to the original models, present grooves on internal walls. On the other hand, in most cases these casseroles have smaller rim sizes and diameters than the original African products. This difference

could be linked to the different local eating habits. This type of casserole with a thickened and rounded rim is common in the contexts of 5th century AD in Naples (Tipo Carminiello 12; Arthur 1994: 230-231) when it was diffused both regionally and extra-regionally albeit the data from the *Ager Falernus* show that a similar production was being manufactured already from the end of the 2nd century AD (Arthur and Soricelli 2015).

Finally, the analysis of the presence of ACW imitations in Campania can be completed with some preliminary notes on the ceramic assemblages from *Hirpinia* (*Aeclanum* and Taurasi). Together with an almost total absence of ACW, the ongoing studies of the pottery assemblages from the Roman city of *Aeclanum* and Taurasi have highlighted the high presence of local imitations. The latter can be explained with the existence of a system of local *ateliers* in *Hirpinia* that covered completely the demand of the pottery used for cooking food. Furthermore,

this hypothesis is supported by the identification of a complete set of cooking wares and tablewares with the same fabric on both sites (see the pottery assemblage from the *macellum* of *Aeclanum*; Castaldo, De Simone and Russell forthcoming).

4. Discussion

The data examined in this study denote the important role that African products played on the western markets since the 1st century AD. The great success of these productions is linked to the high standardisation of these products characterised by a complete set with well-defined types of generally high quality. The integration of African products on the western markets influenced the Roman economy and its distribution system.

This can also be seen in Campania, where the presence of African products in the regional markets is very high. In particular, the present study highlighted the important role played by the ACW on Campanian market through the examination of several ceramic assemblages from the region.

The examined data show that the coastal and urban sites were favoured by their proximity to the port as they were directly linked to the sea trade of African products. This is supported by the evidence from the Port of *Neapolis* (Carsana and Guiducci 2012; Carsana and Del Vecchio 2010) where the ACW reaches very high number of specimens (277 MNI for the period between the 1st and the 5th century AD). In the contexts of the 4th century the ACW represents even 75% of all cooking wares. Although to a lesser extent, the same data is recorded in other urban sites such as the Theater (Ciarocchi et al. 2010: 128-130, Fig. 63). In the period between the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 5th century the ACW stands at around 34% among all cooking wares (178 total MNI for phases I-2a-b).

A different trend instead can be observed for the non-coastal sites of the Vesuvian territory and the *Ager Nolanus* where the ACW attestations are significantly lower. An exception to this is Pollena Trocchia (Villa of Masseria De Carolis) where this class represents 12% of all documented cooking wares. It needs to be highlighted, that with 698 individuals (2076 fragments) the dataset from Pollena Trocchia represents the most conspicuous ceramic assemblage for this class in the region. This suggests that in some cases also the non-coastal sites had a good supply of African products. Furthermore, the

obtained data show the existence of a good system of exchange between the Bay of Naples and the Vesuvian territory. In this view, the factors such as roads, merchants, itinerant markets and *nundinae* have certainly played an important role in this system. However, the lack of ACW in *Hirpinia* stand in opposition to this model. Probably the low presence of ACW in *Hirpinia* could be linked to the existence of high numbers of local *ateliers* in this territory which could cover the whole demand.

The ACW productions must have certainly had a great impact on the regional distribution system influencing both the Italic productions and the local workshops. This process was given by the effect of the '*integration*' between the existing repertoire of regional *ateliers* and the new cooking sets from North Africa. Probably, the inclusion of these new productions with such standardised types into the market had been one of the effects that has led (since the end of the 1st century) to the appearance of the '*imitations*' of African products. These imitations produced in local clays likely emerged from the need to provide more morphological variety to the general standardisation of the original prototypes. This could explain the great diffusion of *ateliers* that produced these imitations throughout the Mediterranean and therefore also in Campania. However, the explanation of this phenomenon (local imitations) could also be linked to other factors, such as the prestige of the originals or the integration of some variants of single shapes (Bonifay 2014: 88).

Moreover, in order to better understand the distribution of these local imitations in Campania the present study provides a map that shows the location of the production centres in the region highlighting the presence of these in the *Ager Falernus*, in the Bay of Naples and in Vesuvian territory. In addition, on the map are also located the consumer sites (fig. 4). Furthermore, the analysis of the new ceramic assemblages from Pollena Trocchia and of some preliminary data from the sites in *Hirpinia* allows to suggest with certain reliability the existence of other *ateliers* in these territories as well.

Finally, the data examined in this study offers a new view on the Roman and Late Antique economy in Campania in which is confirmed the significant role of the ACW and its impact on the market and on the distribution channels at regional and sub-regional level. This analysis highlights the implication of numerous geographical and social variables in the regional markets which suggests an existence of much more complex economic system where the factors: *location*, *distribution*, *integration*, *imitation* and *consumption* played a significant role.

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